

ORIFLAMME

JOURNAL OF NEO-MEDIEVALISM AND POPULAR
MEDIEVALISM

ISSUE 6

31ST OCTOBER 2000



RELICS OF JOAN OF ARC, THE ENGLISH LONGBOW, THE
CLUNY MONASTIC REVIVAL, THE FIFTEEN TOKENS AT
THE END OF THE WORLD, MACARONIC VERSE, MEDIEVAL
PERCEPTIONS OF THE WOLF, *INTERVIEWS WITH THE
SOIL BLEEDS BLACK AND WITH THE LOLLARD SOCIETY.*

.....AND MUCH MORE.

The Expulsion of the Jews in 1290- Simon Schama's 'History of Britain'

Simon Schama's television series The History of Britain, currently appears on Wednesday nights on BBC 2. The Observer quality Sunday paper of October 1st already highlighted the fact that the programme concerning Edward I would be controversial. Simon Schama would accuse Edward I of England of having committed an act of ethnic cleansing in 1290 with regard to the forced expulsion of the Jews living in England. A more traditional view of Edward I rule was that he tried to restore law and order at home, worked successfully to avoid civil war during his reign and waged war in a bid to unite England Wales Ireland and Scotland under the overall jurisdiction of the English crown. The Observer feature by Jason Burke suggested that Schama's emphasis on the expulsion of the Jews, and his description of the 'violence and brutality' used by Edward I in his campaigns to 'subject and pacify the Welsh and Scots' would antagonise conservative historians. (The 1995 'Braveheart' epic starring Mel Gibson as William Wallace had already portrayed Edward I and his forces in a very such a hostile manner but this blockbuster is so riddled with historical errors it was easier for traditionalists to challenge).

On Wednesday 18th October 2000 Simon Schama spent a few minutes in an hour long programme dealing with the 1290 expulsion of the Jews on Edward's orders, describing it as "a little act of ethnic cleansing." The Jews officially were not permitted to return to settle in England until the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell though a few Jews seemed to have lived in England after 1290. An allegation was made that during Edward's reign 300 Jewish communities leaders were arrested and most were executed. It seems that Schama was referring to a mass arrest of alleged coin clippers in 1278. However he declined to mention that although a large number of the alleged coin clipper suspects were Jewish, at least one historian writing on this subject, H.G. Richardson in The English Jewry under the Angevin Kings, published by Methuen and Co. London 1960, cast doubts on the mass execution claim though suggested that such victimisation of the Jews led to attacks on their property. Paul Johnson's A History of the Jews published by Weidenfield and Nicholson 1987 suggests that one chronicler claimed that 300 of the arrested Jews were hanged, but does not footnote and cross reference this contention.. Johnson also suggests that the Jews' property would have gone to the Crown. Michael Prestwich's extensive biography Edward I published by Yale University Press in 1988, republished in 1997 suggested that Jews were imprisoned in 1287 then released after 12,000 pounds was paid, another account suggests that the figure was lower. The Observer of October 2nd features a quote from the assistant curator of the Tower of London, Jeremy Ashby, stating (that) "The Medieval Jews are fascinating and we are researching their imprisonment, but we are not sure this (the arrest and execution) is true". There is currently no mention of the mass execution of Jewish elders in any of the displays or literature available to visitors at the Tower.

Schama also was keen to highlight the Queensborough incident of 1290 in which a sea captain carrying a ship full of Jews bound for the continent persuaded his passengers to embark on a tidal sandbank then heartlessly abandoned them to be drowned when the currents changed. Yet an important consideration was omitted, namely that Edward was so incensed by the captain and the crew's behaviour that he ordered their execution. This is reported in a study by Sir Barnett Lionel Abrahams The Expulsion of the Jews from England 1290, published by Blackwell 1895, (p 71). This study cites the Walter of Hemingbursch 'Chronicon', Bartholomaeus Cotton 'Historia Anglicana' and the anonymous 'Annales Monastici' to this effect.

Schama also neglected to mention that the Patent Calendar Rolls (listing royal warrants and commands) for 1290 reveal some interesting material. The relevant volume for the period 1281-1292 reveals that on 27th July 1290 at Westminster, Edward issued an order for the safe conduct of the Jews quitting the realm with their wives children and goods. Another order dated 8th August 1290 issues a mandate to protect a Jew from Northampton 'James de Oxenia of Northampton. The King's protection extended to the whole family and their goods, they were also ordered to be offered safe passage from England for 'modest charges'. The same source notes that on 24th August 1290 that an order was issued to the bailiffs barons and sailors of the Cinque Ports "not to molest Bonamicus de Eboroco and Jokers his son, Jews of York and other Jews of the same city quitting the realm within the time fixed with their wives, children, household and goods but to secure them with a safe and speedy passage at moderate charges." Edward was also said to have ordered that Jews wore yellow felt badges as mark of distinction. Schama did not refer to the fact that the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had already decreed that Jews must wear badges to set them apart from the Christian majority and such an edict would govern the whole of Christendom. England seemed to have taken some time to have instigated the measure.

The danger of Simon Schama's presentation of the plight of the Jews under the reign of Edward I is that he omitted to refer to certain historical source material which might have altered the viewing public's perception of the matter. He also seems keen to appear as the definite voice of historical opinion. Each historian will have their own agenda and this will influence the question of emphasising certain sources above others, however Simon Schama seems reluctant to concede that there is more ambiguity concerning the construction of Medieval History than he is allowing.

EDITORIAL

I would like to give my heartfelt thanks to the following people for all their help. Marc Foster for the picture on the cover, this page and Reviews' page, and help in finding illustrations. Also to Mike Riddick of the Soil Bleeds Black for the wonderful three musicians illustration. Those who wrote for this issue: Christopher Agius, Virginia Frohlick, Barbara Illott, Troy Southgate, Paul Williams, Jean C. Havens from the Lollard Society, Mike and Mark Riddick, from The Soil Bleeds Black. Also my brother David for proof reading a number of the articles, and much gratitude also to Chris and Richard -Farrah Mills at OUT! Brighton. Thanks also to those who have helped with publicity.

The editor has become increasingly reluctant to announce what will be in the next issue because these promises are never kept. The plan for a massive feature to commemorate the 900th anniversary of William Rufus' death in a hunting accident (?) in the New Forest in 1100 attracted absolutely zero interest so has been scrapped. There probably will be more extracts from Middle English devotional material. The Fifteen Tokens at the End of the World sequence of omens, featured in this issue, begins with rising sea levels, which seems to be happening already here in Sussex. We are also pleased to announce a special Medieval book offer with 'Boydell and Brewer' publishers. Every copy of this issue distributed before the end of December 2000 should feature an information leaflet to this effect. We hope this can be a regular feature.



**Oriflamme-Journal of Neo-medievalism and Popular Medievalism Box Ori,
OUT! Brighton, 4-7 Dorset Street, Brighton BN2 1WA (Postal contact
only)**

Oriflamme is published twice yearly, on April 30th and October 31st. Subscriptions are £4.00 a year with cheques and Postal Orders made payable to 'M. Shankland'. Overseas readers can send in *three* International Reply Coupons *per issue* if inside EEC, *four* IRCs elsewhere.

A few copies of issue 2 and issue 5 are still available, please send A5 SAE with 33p stamp for one/54p stamp for both or two IRCs per issue.

Wolves in 'The Master of the Game'

Paul Williams

Historians attempting to study the wolf in the Middle Ages are frustrated by the lack of extant material. Although the animal appears in literature and artwork there are apparently no published scientific observations in the period between Aristotle and 1939 when Adolph Murie compiled his survey of the wildlife on Isle Royale.

The citizens of Medieval Europe obtained their knowledge of wolves, and most other aspects of the natural world from either the rarity of direct observations or the bestiary. These collections describing the supposed habits of real and mythical beasts and relating them to Christian morality were immensely popular. They associate the lion and the panther with Christ but the wolf, a predator of lesser stature, with Satan. In terms of zoological accuracy they are worthless. For example they tell us that the hyena and lioness copulate to produce a being called Crocotta which can imitate human voices. Much of their information comes from classical sources, further distorting stories penned by Pliny, who himself derived and elongated the so called facts from earlier authors.

Occasionally however details of certain species were published in hunting treatises. The Master of Game is one such treatise, being written by the Duke of Aumarle, Edward III grandson in the early fifteenth century.¹ It copied a French text and added five new chapters.

The section on wolves begins with comments on feeding and breeding habits. According to this the female wolf made all the males follow her for six to eight days without food or sleep. She then chose the one that loved her most to be her mate. Apparently this love didn't last because some wolves never saw their father and because wolves only have sex once a year. When he was around the father wolf would eat all the food, except that hidden by the mother for her offspring.

The rest of the text is more hostile to the wolf, although equally without foundation in zoological fact. There were some wolves that ate children and men. These were called werewolves. This description is significant because it identifies man-eating as an abnormal trait in wolves, just as Aristotle had noted, and secondly because it confuses wolves with werewolves. The two are commonly separated but it may perhaps be inferred that the original werewolves were normal wolves behaving abnormally and that one of the reasons proposed to explain this was possession by a human or devilish entity. Unfortunately the Master of Game does not elaborate enough to permit the expansion of this suggestion.

The text is on firmer scientific ground when postulating reasons why wolves ate people. It concludes that man-eaters were old or lacking strength or alone, all traits which would stop them hunting their normal prey with the rest of the pack. The fact that predators may turn to people specially children, when their normal prey is lacking or when they unable to catch that prey has been demonstrated in the case of tigers, lions, and possibly in the case of the Indian wolf. It has not been proven as far as the European wolf is concerned. The Master of Game clearly indicates that wolves were not considered to be habitual man-eaters although it gives no indication of how rare or common man-eaters were.

¹ Manuscript reference Cottonian MS Vespasian B. XII, c.1420. Trans. And ed. W.M. A.Baille-Groiman and F. Baille-Groiman, London 1909.

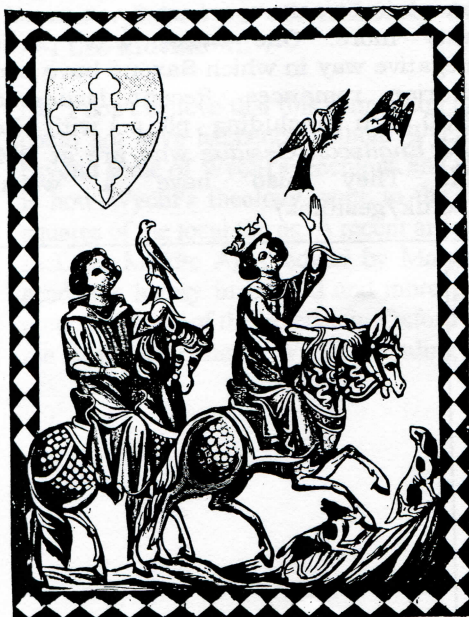
After this insight the author relapses in to the sort of nonsense that permeates the bestiary. He tells us that a man will not get well after being bitten by a wolf because toads eaten by the wolf make that bite venomous. Then he states that the wolf will slay all the sheep before eating them. This is a blatant untruth. At this time the rearing of sheep was becoming more commercialised so perhaps this inspired the comment.

It then claims that one can not tame a wolf because he knows that he does evil. This is an absolutely crucial remark. Previously animals were not credited with intelligence or a sense of conscience. They were dumb beasts put on Earth by God for the benefit of man. Species like wolves which did not appear to offer any benefit were used by God to inflict divine punishment on his people. Whilst stories, poems and the bestiaries granted animals sufficient intelligence to outwit each other, they did not allow those animals the capacity to consciously distinguish between good and evil.

The Master of Game is perhaps the first extant source that is overtly hostile, and deliberately so, towards the wolf. Fables and folktales portray the wolf as being stupid but not necessarily dangerous. Early hagiography shows the wolf as subject to God's influence, Medieval annals describe evil individuals and groups as 'wolves' but the animal is not despised even in bestiaries where it is firmly linked with the devil. Describing the wolf as consciously evil can only have increased hostility towards it at a popular level.

Like the bestiaries it is not clear if the Master of Game should be considered an attempt to study natural history or a deliberate piece of propaganda produced for purposes unknown. It has been argued that the wolf was exterminated in England simply because it threatened the sheep trade. This text was written at a time close to that extinction, and presumably when these motivations were manifesting themselves in direct action. Except that there is no evidence of such action in extant records.

The final section on the wolf in the Master of Game talks about the medicinal value of wolf parts. The right foot of the wolf was considered good for curing evil breath and blotches under the jaw. A wolf's liver was good for curing a man's liver but the author would not confirm this because "I would put in my book nothing but the truth". The truth about the behaviour of the Wolf in the Middle Ages may never be known but texts like this ultimately only succeed in making it more elusive.



Oriflamme has been contacted by the Richard III Museum at Monk Bar, York, YO1 2LH : " opened by Michael Bennett and Steve Williams in May 1993. The Museum aims to offer an entertaining and imaginative introduction to the famous Richard III controversy. The Museum puts King Richard 'on trial' for the crime for which history condemns him- the alleged murders of his nephews, the so called 'Princes in the Tower'. Visitors are invited to give their own verdict." Michael S. Bennett regularly acts out a play titled 'An Audience with King Richard III' performed at the museum during the Summer. Details from (01904 634191) or www.richardiiimuseum.co.uk

Reviews

Mediaeval Baebes - *Undrentide*

This CD was released too late to review in Oriflamme 5 and is the Baebes third CD (the fourth if a rather spurious 'Greatest Hits' package is recognised) and is produced by John Cale. The varied influences have become so eclectic. 'Now Welcom Somer' is based on Chaucer lyrics, and 'E Volentiere' on those of Boccaccio. They also sing 'Summerisle (The Maypole Song)' from 'The Wicker Man' soundtrack very well, though I think that it is time that someone performed a cover version of 'The Landlord's Daughter' from the same film. 'Isabella' and 'Omnis Gentes Plaudite' seem to be performed in a sophisticated garage style, a second version of 'E Volentiere' is sort of ambient, and 'Venie Cronaberis' is jazz influenced.

The Baebes seem to want to make the point that they are not performing 'pure' Medieval music, which is fair enough, it is easy to snigger at the flint walls and banks of candles school of this genre. I also rate that fact they sing in many languages besides contemporary English. I acknowledge the very 1990's notion that they are Baebes but certainly not bimbos. Another 1990s concern was that taking oneself too seriously was considered to be some sort of capital offence, and the Baebes accurately convey the impression that they are musically talented without being too austere.

Undrentide is well worth a listen, but the Baebes now seem so desperate to subvert the Mediaeval label that one begins to wonder where can they go next. The romantic intensity of 1998's release 'Worldes Blysse' has gone, and been replaced by a sense of being clever. There is a danger that the Baebes will try and drive away the Medievalist and Gothic audiences, but are not quite sure which punters to target next. They have just managed to get away with it this time, but the next release is going to be very difficult.

News just in : The Baebes have been working on an erotic art book titled 'Songs of the Flesh'. All royalties will be donated to The National Alliance of Women's Organisation. There will be a multi-media event to launch the book on November 30th 2000 in London. Also there is a possibility of concerts in December 2000. Contact the Mediaeval Baebes, P.O.Box 17886, London N19 5WH or www.mediaevalbaebes.com (the only 'official' Baebes www site).

GOR *Bellum Gnosticorum* released by IRIS, via Prikosnovenie

Italian group GOR are essentially Francesco Banchini and whoever he is working with. Francesco is a multi-instrumentalist who has now been working with Ataraxia from Modena. This CD displays strong Medieval influence with other inspirations in evidence, from Classical to Arabic. What is particularly appealing is that Francesco fuses different styles, and makes them flow successfully. There is some poignant and moving material here, enchanting and mysterious music, a delightful release indeed.

Contact Franseco Banchini, via Cicerone 69, 80072, Pozzuoli, Napoli, Italy

Ataraxia *Suenoes* : Unfortunately this CD is not ready yet, but Oriflamme has been informed that the CD will feature solemn airs, marches, a gothic flamenco, songs of crusaders, amongst other material. Look forward to it. The expected release date will be early 2001, and Francesca from Ataraxia has informed 'Oriflamme' that the group's live appearances have ceased for the moment in order to complete the CD. Ataraxia will have another group newsletter ready for November 2000.

Contact : WWW.ataraxia.net E mail pando@misterweb.it
Ataraxia c.p.13; uff.PT MO succ.5; 41100 Modena ; Italy



Review- *Widowinde* Periodical of the English Companions

Very professional looking Saxon history magazine published by an organisation called *Da Engliscan Gesidas*. The issue I saw had 54 pages, and featured Saxon history, language, the portrayal of the Saxons in literature, an article on mead horns, riddles, and plenty more. One writer was particularly concerned at the negative way in which Saxons have been cast due to the Arthurian romances. Recent issues of the publication are £3.00 each (including p& p) with cheques/ PO made out to *Da Engliscan Gesidas* who are at BM 4336 London WC1 3XX. They also have a website ; www.kami.demon.co.uk/gesithas/

Alternative Green

Unique and controversial magazine as mentioned in previous issues of Oriflamme and now adopting a 'beyond right and Left' perspective Information from 20 Upper Barr, Cowley Centre, Oxford, OX4 3UX .Send SAE for further details.

The Lollard Society

The origin of the term 'Lollard' is obscure. It apparently originated as a pejorative label, taken from the Middle Dutch word 'Lollaerd' meaning a babbler or nonsense. Its first recorded use in English in 1382. Whilst this is the term's most likely origin, many erudite, orthodox contemporaries of the movement believed that the word derived from the Latin 'lolium', a wild weed or vetch (often translated as 'tares') which can choke out wheat, as in the parable in Matthew 13:24-30. "

-From the Lollard Society WWW site.

Medieval England was comparatively free from heresy compared with many parts of mainland Europe. However at the end of the fourteenth century this was to change. One of late Medieval Europe's most eloquent heretics, Master John Wyclif (Wycliffe - c.1330-1384) was to attain a certain degree of influence and even counted John of Gaunt, uncle of Richard II as one of his patrons. Wyclif was born in Yorkshire, educated at both Merton College and Balliol College and was a prolific writer of philosophy and theology. Wyclif attacked the notion of papal infallibility, saw little purpose in confessing sin to a corrupt priest, challenged the literal power of the Eucharist, encouraged the direct reading of the scriptures to the extent that he translated the Bible into Middle English, though wrote his own work in Latin. Wyclif also favoured greater power being given to secular authority to intervene in Church affairs.

A loose knit movement of heretics influenced by Wycliff emerged who were known as the Lollards. To call the Lollards the 'followers' or 'disciples' of Wyclif is probably over simplistic. The Lollards challenged the corruption they perceived in the late Medieval Church, denounced the cult of relics and pilgrimages associated with Latin Catholicism. After the passing of *de hearetico comburendo* Act of 1401, a few prominent Lollards were burnt to death as heretics. The Authorities seemed to want to make an example of prominent Lollards rather than organise a mass persecution .

The most famous Lollard must be Sir John Oldcastle who lost his esteemed position amongst England's nobility for his sympathies, was tried for heresy and refused to recant, arguing that the Pope represented the head of the Anti-Christ, and the archbishops and friars the limbs and tail . Oldcastle managed to escape captivity, led a rather feeble Lollard rebellion in 1414 which was quelled without much difficulty by Henry V. The rebellion only served to marginalise the Lollards. In 1417 Oldcastle was executed. Sporadic trials concerning charges of ' Lollardy' continued in to the 16th century. Apart from a few minor nobles, Lollards tended to be skilled artisans and craftsmen. London, Bristol, Coventry, Leicester and the south Wiltshire textile industry, were areas where Lollard groups are known to have existed in some number.

I asked Jill C. Havens , a member of the Lollard Society executive some questions.

1. Do you think that the connection between John Wyclif and the Lollards has been overplayed or alternatively do you think that Wyclif really was the inspiration for the movement ?

No, I don't believe that this connection has been overplayed. There is no doubt that the Lollard movement could not have happened without Wyclif's inspiration. While it is certainly clear that the Lollards went beyond some of Wyclif's teachings and ideas, his theology is at the core of their reform. The greater debate is how Wyclif's theology came to the lay audience, leaving the lecture halls of Oxford for the market squares of the local towns. A recent article by Maureen Jurkowski in the collection ' Lollardy and the Gentry in Later Middle Ages' edited by Margaret Aston and Colin Richmond, offers a new link between the academic heresy in Oxford and more popular Lollards. In this article she suggest that the lawyers who defended some of the heretics in Oxford provided a conduit to the general populace. This theory challenges the traditional belief in Wyclif's sending his " poor preachers" out amongst the common people.

2. Do you think that the expression 'Lollards' covered a variety of different sects which seemed to be in conflict with the doctrine of the Church or was there at least some degree of unanimity amongst a range of opinion.?

Again, this is a very highly debated issue, more recently because a few more scholars are now challenging the traditional views of the term 'Lollard'. The Lollard Society is currently editing a collection of essays from both well-established scholars and younger ones; in this collection we have three essays which address this issue, and one especially challenges the use of the term 'Lollard' by showing how there were Lollard like heretics in England long before the advent of the heretical movement. Likewise, this article shows how many assumed 'Lollards' in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were actually from an aberrant fringe of individuals not at all connected to the heresy.

Because of my familiarity with this new research., I have to admit that I believe that the expression 'Lollard' whilst obviously used by contemporaries to refer to any aberrant behaviour (as in the case of Margery Keep), is used indiscriminately by some scholars today. I do feel that we need to be careful how we label any group that challenged the orthodox teachings of the Medieval Church in Rome. The term 'Lollard' should not be used to cover a variety of different sects but can be used to cover a variety of Lollard groups. There is evidence for extreme variation between geographically remote Lollard groups, but this variation is more of interpretation rather than basic tenets of belief.

While many scholars still squabble over what exactly Lollards believed, much progress has been made in examining how influential the church was in creating a checklist of beliefs held by the Lollards. Any appearance of uniformity in belief amongst differing Lollard groups is due to ecclesiastical records, not the Lollards themselves. This is why research on the actual texts produced by the Lollards is so important, so that we can learn more of what THEY say about themselves.

3. Have the Lollards been misrepresented as 'early' Protestant, appearing in the woodprints of Foxe's Book of Martyrs for example, when really it could be argued that the Lollards were not intending to break away from the Church but to improve it.?

The answer to this question probably has more to do with who is answering it than any fair assessment of the evidence. Wyclif, I believe, had no intention of separating from the orthodox church, just cleansing it of its corruption and the hierarchy that bred this corruption. The Lollards still did not see themselves as a wholly separate denomination. Their purpose was to reform. But I would not argue that the later Protestant reformers misrepresented them by adapting them and their martyrs to the cause. Anne Hudson and Margaret Aston, as well as others, have argued for some time that the Reformation found fertile ground in England, ground already prepared by the Lollard heresy. Reformation historians such as Eamon Duffy, however are more reluctant to attribute any sort of credit to the Lollards. And several will argue that this connection between early heresy and later reformation has been highly overestimated.

4. Do you think that Lollard demands, such as the right to read the Bible in the vernacular, largely have been conceded by the Church ?

The answer to this question depends on how you define 'The Church'. Obviously with the Reformation, much of what the Lollards believed in and argued for was accomplished. The reading of the Bible in vernacular is something that all Christian faiths have come to take for granted. Even the Catholic Church in Rome, with the publication of Douai-Rheims translation, advocates reading the Bible in English vernacular.

5. Has the Catholic Church ever apologised for the persecution of the Lollards ? I understand that last year (1999) the Catholic Church did apologise for the execution of John Hus. If not, do you think that it should do so ?

No, and I don't think that it should. Because the Church officials always handed over heretics to the secular arm for the execution. The Church in a sense did not have a direct hand in executions. The case with Hus

is different because he was tried by the Church Council at Constance and executed. Wyclif retired into obscurity and comparatively few of his followers were executed.

Editors Note. John Hus was a Czech theologian influenced by Wyclif who attracted a great deal of support in Bohemia. Hus was invited to the 1415 Church Council of Constant under safe conduct and then tried and condemned to death. What could be classed as a national revolt broke out in response, within the province of Bohemia. Wyclif was permitted to live out his life in retirement, his corpse was not so graciously treated. After being post-humously condemned as a heretic and his body was exhumed and burnt in 1428.

6. When did the Lollards begin to disappear from England, and why did they do so?

Again if you believe that the reformation owes something to the Lollard movement, 'Lollardy' never really disappeared. It was quite easy for them to continue in some form through the centuries after Wyclif. Trial evidence for the Lollards continues up until the early 16th century. And local historians such as Andrew Hope have shown how many families that became ardent Protestants in the 16th and 17th centuries were descendants of earlier Lollard families.

I wish to thank Jill for agreeing to be interviewed. The Lollard Society is engaged in some intriguing research, showing how religious dissent was articulated, and how such ideas were being spread from area to area. Researching and identifying Lollard texts is a continual process with an overall rise of the number of written texts which have emerged, written in Middle English.

The Society also unites historians of the English Reformation, scholars of Middle English devotional work, and students of Medieval Theology. The Society welcomes new enquiries. Membership costs five US dollars. Facilities are not in place to accept British currency for membership but enquiries from outside the USA should not be deterred.

Contact the Lollard Society, Department of English, P.O.Box 97404, Baylor University, Waco, Texas 76798-7404 USA

E mail Jill Havens at jill_havens@baylor.edu

WWW site <http://home.att.net/~lollard>

The Richard III Foundation Inc.

The Richard III Foundation has launched the following petition "Justice-500 years is a long time for a man's reputation to be cleared. The Richard III Foundation Inc. and much of the world believe that King Richard III was a good man, an honourable man and certainly no murderer. This petition is to seek permission to subject the bones found in the Tower, that are now presumed to be those of Edward V and Richard Duke of York, to modern scientific scrutiny and testing. The uncertainty of the bones is of international interest and scholars and amateurs alike would hail the re-examination of the evidence with modern forensic and archaeological techniques" This summer the Foundation information stall attended the Middleham Festival, Yorkshire, the Battle of Tewkesbury re-enactment, and the Battle of Bosworth re-enactment. The information stall will also be present (for at least one day-confirm with Mary Kelly as below) at the Ludlow Medieval Christmas Fair, Saturday 25th/Sunday 26th November 2000, Ludlow Castle 10AM - 4 PM. For more information and for copies of the 'bones' petition please contact:

Corporate Address: 47 Summit Avenue, Garfield NJ 07026 USA <http://www.richardIII.com>

British national contact; Mrs. Mary Kelly, 'Langley Vale', 30 Chapel Lane, Horrabridge, Devon PL20 7SP

Local contacts: Norfolk Peter Womack, 1 Old Post Office, The Street, South Lopham, Norfolk IP22 2LH Essex Jeanne Goultry, 87 Kents Hill Rd. South Benfleet, Essex SS7 5PP Midlands Eunice Wormwald, 7 Ramsden Court, Ramsden Avenue, Nuneaton, Warwickshire CV10 9EZ

One of the most intellectually and artistically demanding of mediaeval verse forms is the MACARONIC poem. The challenge the poet set himself was considerable. The basic poem had to be in a strict metrical form with each verse identical with the others in terms of its number of lines, its scansion (the number of metrical feet in the line) and its rhyme scheme. The text also had to obey the rules of grammar. This is not particularly easy in *one* language, as anyone who has tried to write a villanelle, or even a sonnet, will know. But the macaronic poet set himself to write a poem in at least two different languages (usually Latin and his own vernacular). It was not enough to add a Latin refrain at the end of each verse, it was not really enough to alternate Latin and English lines if the lines were separate sentences. No, for the really good macaronic poem, the sentences must slide in and out of the different languages while remaining true to the rules of grammar in both languages *and* conforming to the structure of the verse as outlined above..

The result is that much macaronic verse is inaccessible, but one of the best, and possibly the best-known, is this Latin/Middle English hymn to the Virgin Mary. It is brilliantly successful technically, and it is also considered to be an artistic and poetic success. Additionally, getting to grips with its meaning is an excellent way of finding out what the Cult of the Virgin mean to a devotee in the thirteenth century.. The author was probably a priest or a monk: he was certainly a poet.

It is said that when translating poetry, the poetry is what is left out. In trying to be both brief and line by line accurate for the benefit of those who have no Latin and or find Middle English a bit tricky, I have produced some infelicities. Extra words in the translation have been inserted to make the sense clearer. However, I am not trying to write a poem myself but to provide the tool whereby the real poem may be appreciated.

Hymn to the Virgin (Stella maris)	Translation
Of on that is so fayr and briht Velud maris stella, Brihter than the dayis liht, Parens et puella, Ic crie to the, thou se to me, Levedy, preye thi sone for me Tam pia, That ic mote come to the, Maria.	To one who is so fair and bright, Like the star of the sea, Brighter than the daylight, A mother and a maiden, I appeal to you, (please will) you attend to me, Lady, intercede with your son for me, (Lady) so devout, So that I may come to you, Mary.
Levedi, flour of alle thing, Rosa sine spine, Thou bere Jhesu, Hevene king, Gratia divina. Of alle thou berst the pris, Levedi, quene of parays	Lady, the flower of all things, The rose without a thorn, You gave birth to Jesus, King of Heaven Through divine grace. Of all (women) you take the prize, Lady, Queen of Paradise,

Electa; Mayde milde moder es Effecta.	The chosen one, Gentle virgin, a mother you are Proved to be.
Al this world was forlore, Eva peccatrice, Tyl our lord was ybore De te genitrice. With aue it was went away Thuster nyth and comet the day Salutis. The welle springet hut of the Virtutis.	All this world was utterly lost, Because of EVA* the sinner, Until Our Lord was born, Of you (his) mother. With AVE* it was cleared away - The dark night - and the day comes, (The day) of Salvation. The well springs out of you (The well) of virtue.
Wel he wot he is thi sone Ventre quem portasti; He wyl nout werne the thi bone Paruum quem lactasti. So hende and so god he his, He havet brout ous to blis Superni, That hauet hidut the the foule put Inferni.	He knows well that he is your son, You who carried him in your womb, He will not refuse you your request You who suckled him when he was small. So gracious and so good he is, That he has brought us all to joy, Supernatural (joy) (He) who has closed up the foul pit Of hell.
Of kare conseil thou ert best, Felix fecundata; Of alle wery thou ert rest, Mater honorata. Besik him wit milde mod That for ous alle sad is blod In cruce, That we moten komen til him In luce.	In trouble, you are the best of advisers, Happy fruitful one. For all the tired you are (a source of) rest, Honoured mother. With a gentle demeanor, ask him Who shed his blood for us all On the cross, That we may come to him In the light.

*EVA - AVE. This is a typical example of the allusiveness of much mediaeval thinking and writing. The explanation is as follows:

Sin & evil came into the world because, in the Garden of Eden, Eve (Latin=EVA) the first woman disobeyed God and ate an apple from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The human race remained in the grip of evil until the Angel Gabriel came to tell Mary that she was to be the mother of the Christ, the Saviour of the world. The opening words of Gabriel's greeting are Hail Mary (Latin =. AVE Maria) Mary's obedience in consenting to become the mother of Christ was seen as reversing, or canceling out, Eve's disobedience. Hence AVE reverses EVA.

The Fifteen Tokens at the End of the World

The extract below is taken from Pricke of Conscience, an anonymous devotional prose poem of some 9,600 lines dating back from the Fourteenth Century. Pricke of Conscience appears in some 119 manuscript versions, making it one of the most popular Middle English texts. The work seems to have lost popularity by the end of the Fifteenth Century. This passage has been transcribed and translated by the editor from the Pricke of Conscience version held as Harley manuscript 6923 in the British Library, Folio 68 (recto and verso). The Middle English spelling has been kept intact.

Middle English

The firste day of thas fiftene days
The see sall ryse the boke says
Abowene the heightest of all mountayne
Fourty cubettes of certayne
And evene in his stede upstande
Als hilles dae here opone the lande
The seconde day it sall be lawe
That unnethes menn than sall it knawe
The thirde day it sall seme playne
And stande evenn in his cours agayne
Als it stode at the beynyng
Wyth outen risyng or fallyng
The ferth day thus sall it be
The mast wonderfull fyshes of the se
Sall come to gedere and make romyng
Full hedous un to man's heryng
Bot what that is sall sygnyfy
Thate none bot god almyghty
The Fyfie day the se sall brynne
All the wattes als thai sall rynne
And that sall last fra the sone rysyng
Unto the tyme of the downe gaungyng
The sext day sall springe a blodey dewe
Onn gresse onn trees als that sall shewe

Contemporary English

The first day of these fifteen days
The sea shall rise as the book says
Above the highest of all mountains
Forty cubits for certain
And in his highest point stand
As high as lie upon the land
On the second day it shall be so low
That every man shall notice it
The third day it shall seem plain
And stand even in his course again
As it stood at the beginning
Without rising or falling
The fourth day shall it be
The most wonderful fish of the sea
Shall come together and make such a racket
Absolutely hideous to hear
But what this shall signify
God only knows
The fifth day the sea shall burn
Along with all flowing water
Starting from sunrise
Until the time of the sunset
The sixth day shall spring a blood red dew
On grass on trees as they shall be shown

The sevendē day biggyngē doune sall fall
And grete castelles and tours with all
The aghthenede day roches and stanes
Sall strike to geders all at ones
Ikane till other sall strike so faste
Swa that thai sall be doune caste
And hilk a stane onne dyverse wyse
Sall be sondrede in thre partyse
The nyent day sall dyne be
Generally in hilk contre
Was never herde sethen this werlde began
The tenede day forte nevenne
The erthe sall be made playne and evene
Hilles and valles sall turnede be
And be made all even unto the se
The ellewent day men sall com oute
Of caves and of holes aboute
And als wode mene that na gude kan
Sall nane to other speke than
The twelft day after the sternes sal falle
And the signs from heaven fall sall thai all
The XIII day sall dede mens banes
Be set togedre and ryse at ones
And opene thair grafes stande
This sall be fall in hil a lande
The XIII day all that lyves thane
Shall dye bath childe man and womane
For thai with thaim sall ryse agayne
That dyede be fore to ioy or payne
The XV day sall thus betyde
The wordle sall bren on hilka syde
And the earth thare whare we now dwell
Unto the utter ende of hell

The seventh day buildings shall fall down
Along with great castles and towers
The eighth day rocks and stones
Shall strike together all at once
Each to strike against each other so fast
So that they shall be cast down
And each a stone in many ways
Shall be smashed into three parts
The ninth day shall an earthquake be
affecting every country
That was ever heard of since the world began
The tenth day after as mentioned
The earth shall be made plain and even
Hills and valleys levelled shall be
And be made as flat as the sea
The eleventh day men shall come out
from caves and holes
And as mad men that not communicate
Shall none be able to speak to another
The twelfth day after the stars shall fall
And the signs from heaven fall shall they all
The thirteenth day shall dead men's bones
Be set together and rise at once
And stand up from their graves
This shall occur in every land
The fourteenth day all that still lives
Shall die both child man and woman
For they with them shall rise again
That have already died, to joy or pain
The fifteenth day shall thus betide
The world shall burn on each side
And the earth there where we now dwell
(fall) unto the furthest end of Hell

The English Longbow-

The might of the English longbow has long since transformed this Medieval weapon into a nationally adopted armament possessing mythical prowess. Many consider it as the machine gun of the Middle Ages, a flight of its arrows was likened to a lethal storm that maimed, killed and demoralised everyone in its murderous path. Without any doubt in mind it has been the main element that enabled England to become the 'superpower' of the Medieval world, usurping the title by sheer brutal force from France.

The Origins of the English Longbow

For centuries before the appearance of this incredible weapon on the battlefield, armies depended on heavily armoured cavalry to win the day. Its role was to demoralise, run down by the sheer force of the charge and finally to pursue and strike down the panic stricken fugitives of their fearsome attack. However, during the 14th century all this was going to change. At the battle of Crecy in 1346 during the Hundred Years War, an outnumbered English host composed chiefly of archers armed with the longbow put an end to the knight's arrogant sense of invincibility and supremacy.

The English became acquainted with the longbow in the 13th century while campaigning in Wales. The Welsh took a heavy toll on the invaders by using this extraordinary weapon of war. On their part the English were quick to realise the impact that the longbow could produce on the battlefield. As soon as the Welsh campaign was successfully over, Welsh conscripts began to be incorporated into the English army, whilst also training their own archers. The lessons the English learned by hard experience in Wales were going to be put in practise with deadly effect on their enemies on the battlefield of France and Scotland in the coming years.

The Longbow

The longbow was renowned for being a hard hitting weapon, with stories being told of Welsh longbow men penetrating a four inch solid oak door with their arrows at the siege of Abergavenny Castle during the Welsh campaign. The longbow was a cheap weapon to produce and one that could be easily constructed and maintained by the common subjects. The weapon varied in length according to the height of its user and since the average height of Medieval yeoman was around five feet two inches, the longbow rarely exceeded the length of six feet.

The longbow was made by hand from the English yew. Staves were cut only in Winter, when the sap was down. Skilful cutting and shaping of the stave in a D-section left a layer of sapwood left along the flattened back of the bow. The heartwood of yew is able to withstand compression and its sapwood is

Christopher Agius

elastic by nature, and both tend to return to their original straightness when the bow is loosened. The edges were notched in order to take the string made of hemp or silk. There is no rest for the arrow on the bow; it rests simply on the index finger of the archer himself. The best material for the longbow came from yew trees in the mountainous regions of Italy and Spain. This was due to the poor terrain that the trees grew in. This fact made the wood of these trees lighter due to a lesser amount of grain found in the staves. So important was this consideration that it was ordered that with every shipment of imported wine from Southern France there must be a consignment of yew staves.

The archers used a mixture of fine tallow, resin and wax to protect the bow from the elements, especially during damp weather. Also it was not unusual for a bow to be carried in an appropriate bow case to safeguard it more effectively from wet atmospheric conditions. Special care was taken in the protection of the string, since a broken string was a major shortcoming on the battlefield that could effectively put the weapon out of action.

In battle the arrows were either carried in an arrow bag or a belt quiver. In the absence of this, it was common practise to simply stuff a sheaf of arrows through the belt. The back quiver that one so often see in swashbuckling films featuring the 'prince of thieves' Robin Hood, was never adopted for use in combat.

Training with the Longbow

Naturally to achieve a high degree of precision and professionalism with a weapon such as the longbow requires a great deal of practise. Therefore it is no wonder that a great emphasis on training began from the tender age of seven. Further more to achieve a high degree of proficiency various laws were passed concerning the compulsory ownership of longbows for citizens in certain 'wage bands'. It was also mandatory to practise with the bow on Sundays after church. To this end churches were ordered to maintain butts in order to help foster the accomplished use of the longbow by constant practise. Regulations were also applied in these Medieval shooting ranges. They mostly concerned the distance one must shoot from. Yearly, tournaments for archers were also organised and the most successful were immediately pressed in to service with the army.

One must bear in mind that in those days professional soldiers were few and far between and that these laws were intended for the common citizen who in time of war would be required for military service. So no wonder that the authorities constantly highlighted the important of rigorous training with the longbow. This fact is clearly demonstrated by anecdotal evidence

from the time which stated that a man who could not draw and discharge 12 well aimed arrows in a minute aiming at a target 240 yards away was lightly esteemed, even if he only missed once. Such a degree of skill now seems incredible.

In Battle

Stories of the might and hard hitting power of the English Longbow an incredible dexterity of the English archers are abundant. There are stories of knights being literally pinned to their saddles. One account recalls an episode where a knight was pinned to his horse by an arrow that passed through both his armoured clad thighs, with the horse and saddle in between. Arrows fired from a longbow could easily do this, at 400 yards it could severely wound, kill at 200 yards and penetrate armour at 100 yards.

The true potential in battle of the longbow was finally unleashed with deadly effect on an unsuspecting enemy during the Hundred Years War. At the battle of Crecy in 1346, an English army which was mainly composed of English and Welsh bowmen under King Edward III inflicted a terrible defeat on a French host that greatly outnumbered them. The consequences of this military debut was that it elevated England to the rank of being a major power and elevated the role of the foot soldier above the knights.

The lessons of Crecy were forgotten by the French it seems : At the battle of Agincourt in 1415 their forces suffered a further crushing defeat due to the English use of the longbow. Again a small but proficient English army inflicted a drastically high casualty rate on a French army that greatly outnumbered them, to the extent that there was hardly a French noble family that did not suffer a death , and countless French family lines were brought to an end due to the death of all their male relations.

The Decline of the Longbow

Many historians argue that the importance of the longbow on the battlefield has been discarded too

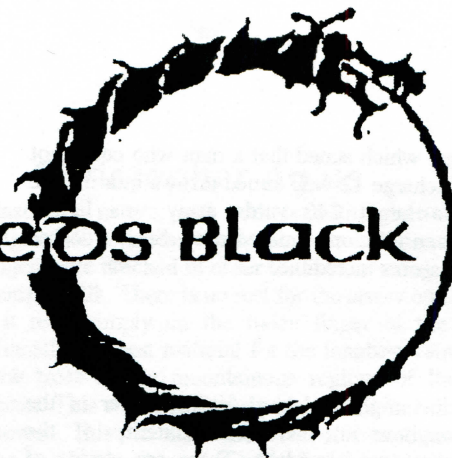
soon. Naturally with the introduction of firearms the decline of the longbow seemed inevitable, but one must also contemplate that early firearms had more disadvantages than benefits when compared to the longbow, especially when climatic conditions are taken in to consideration. Furthermore even if favourable conditions in which to use an early firearm prevailed, several arrows could well hit a harquebusier before he could even discharge a single shot ; even if he emerged unscathed enough to fire, his bullet might miss its target or do no real harm to an opponent.

However once the longbow had fallen from favour, it was not to be re-introduced. Unlike firearms it needed a great deal more practice and dedication in order to enable a man to achieve a high degree of effectiveness without the use of sights and other aiming devices. There is also a key human factor in the tipping of the scales against the use of the bow, the desire of common soldiers not to be left behind in the march of progress.

Editors note : Following Christopher's article , it is worth pondering that the success of England as a military power developed because of the relative ability to make use of changing practices in war, in this case by adapting to the use of the longbow. French forces were still locked in to an emphasis being placed on the use of armed knights on horseback and perhaps the romance of chivalry and so seemed to be less versatile. At Agincourt the placing of sharpened stakes by English soldiers at the height of a horse's belly worked against the charging French cavalry. Moreover the fact that armour became so heavy (in bid to be a defence against arrows) was deadly from the French perspective, many of their knights and horses died by being crushed and suffocated, sinking in the mud of the battlefield, unable to escape from the crushing press . The longbow also seemed to have advantages over the crossbow, with arrows being able to be despatched at a quicker rate by skilled archers. At the battle of Crecy a posse of Genoese crossbowmen hired to fight on the French side performed so badly that the French charged them according to Froissart's Chronicles.



...the soil bleeds black



American Neo-Medieval Folk band The Soil Bleed Black (TSBB) were formed in 1992. The line up consists of the Riddick brothers Mark and Mike, who play a veritable array of different instruments. Mike shares the vocals with third band member Eugenia. Earlier releases by the band are not easy to get hold of. However last year the band released a CD 'Alchemie' via World Serpent Distribution (see below) reviewed in the last issue of Oriflamme. The interview was conducted via the Internet in October 2000.

1. How have the Soil Bleeds Black connected with the Medieval era ?

Mark : The Soil Bleeds Black connects itself to the Medieval era in a variety of ways. First and foremost, TSBB is connected to the Medieval era through music. In our hymns can be heard an array of Medieval influences....envisioning scenes from the king's court, to the battlefield, to the minstrel's jovial jigs, to the maiden's songs of sorrow. Our instruments also reflect our connection to the Medieval era, as we endorse the use of various flutes, strings, bagpipes, dulcimers etc. Secondly, TSBB is connected to the Middle Ages through our art and visual media. The visual representation of the band is esteemed as much as the musical aspect. We prefer to have control over our package designs, illustrations, and layouts. We believe the visual element of a music release can effectively cast a complimentary atmosphere to the sound. Overall, our purpose is not only to connect ourselves to the medieval era but to connect our listeners as well.

2. Do you think that being Medievalists in the USA has been a drawback in some respects ? Physical evidence of the European Medieval era is obviously not immediately accessible. Has being US based made you more determined to pursue Medieval interests ? Can an interest in the Medieval era make you feel set part from contemporary American culture ?

MARK: Yes, I do believe that being an American and living in the USA has had a drawback in regards to our exposure to the lifestyle of a Medieval culture. Living in American, we do not have the opportunity to readily visit a location where authentic Medieval history has taken place. Granted, we do have museums where we can observe Medieval relics and art, though it is not quite the same as visiting a European village that has its roots in the Dark Ages. The only benefit to our depravation is that we are aching with curiosity. This is perhaps a subliminal motivation for us to pursue such an interesting time in history. I think that another thing that motivates our interest in Medieval culture is our look into personal ancestry. Finding our heritage in England and Scotland has certainly caused us to be more inquiring of older times. To answer the second half of your question; No I do not think that my interest in the Medieval era has set me apart from the contemporary American culture that surrounds me. I can't ignore the fact that I work forty hours a week and eat fast food on occasion like most other Americans.

MIKE : On the contrary, I do indeed feel somewhat isolated from American culture due to my interests with old Europe and past historical cultures and principles. I find that these interests alienate me from contemporary American society, in the sense that I do not easily relate to others within the social strata of American civilisation. American is a media driven country that worships movie stars, boy bands, and has an obsession with economical/technological growth to the point of absurdity. While these themes surround me on a daily basis, I think that an understanding of the past and its importance has shown me to appreciate different things in life and to approach life with an alternative enjoyment and satisfaction.

3. How do you re-create Medieval music? Do you research Medieval instruments? Do you write your own songs or perform work dating from Medieval times?

MARK: We like to think of our music as Neo-Medieval Folk. We do not play traditional Medieval music. Our hymns simply act as modern interpretations of Medieval times. The folk element comes in to play with our use of acoustic guitars (a long used folk instrument) and the fact that we recite themes of the past. The selection of instruments we play are all self-taught and little research was involved. All of our songs are written and composed by ourselves, as we do not have a strong desire to replicate what has been done , but rather to innovate the past in a modern context. The only traditional songs we have performed are "The March of Brian Boru" an Irish tune that we covered for a German compilation double CD " Immortal Legends " and " Tempus Est Locundum", a traditional Medieval piece that has remained unreleased.

4. What has drawn you to the study of Alchemy ?

Mike: Basic inquiries about life have led me to an indulgence of alchemical perspectives and curriculum. When one has gathered a multitude of questions regarding nature, consciousness, and magic, it is only inevitable to be led towards the ancient art of alchemical philosophies and sciences. The unique combination of artistic expression fused with intellectually occult concepts can intrigue one to great depths and can also act as a catalyst for personal growth, understanding and communication. I would recommend a study of alchemy to any individual who holds an interest in philosophy, art, and the Middle Ages.

5. Are you in contact with Medieval groups based in Europe ? Have you toured Europe at all ?

MIKE: To our misfortune, we have never visited Europe, though Eugenia will be paying a visit to England and France very soon. I am certain she will gather much from her experience. We are in contact with a variety of people in Europe, though the general " Medieval" scene is quite small as it stands, and I don't believe we have regular contact with specific bands in the genre. I do welcome such if anyone wishes to get in touch. Many of the European artists are our favourites (i.e. Ataraxia, G.O.R., Hellenfurt, Hagalaz Runedance, Camerata Mediolanense, The Mediaeval Baebes etc etc).

6. Is there much interest in TSBB in North America or is your audience mainly from Europe ?

MARK : There is a little bit of interest for TSBB in North America. We will have a feature in Renaissance Magazine very soon, which is a mainstream North American publication for Renaissance lifestyles, and that will certainly open up a larger fan base for us here. However, Europe is definitely where our larger audience is located. This is clearly evident in the fact that all of our albums have been released by European labels and are carried by mostly European distributors

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PostScript : World Serpent distribution are hoping that the new CD from The Soil Bleeds Black 'Quintessence' will be ready for release early in 2001. Renaissance magazine (published four times a year) have confirmed that 1,000 copies of a special TSBB CD titled 'Medieval Melange' will be available free to all new subscribers until stocks run out. Subscription rates are \$19/1 year, \$39/2 years and \$55/3 years . Subscriptions to 'Renaissance Magazine c/o SFS P O Box 82, Vandalia, OH 45377-0082 USA <http://renaissancemagazine.com>

Relics of Joan of Arc

Virginia Frohlick

This article is based largely on a conversation I had with a member of staff at the Joan of Arc centre, Orleans,, France.

There seem to be very few definite relics of Joan left to us. Joan's heart and intestines did not burn despite the two attempts to consume them by flames from the fire that the executioner had lit. at her execution in 1431. The Cardinal of Winchester then ordered him to gather up all of Joan's ashes and remains and cast them in to the River Seine.

I asked about the approximately three inch long charred human bone and the remnants of a wooden torch that I had seen displayed in the Chinon Castle Museum. I was told that when these objects originally were found in Paris sometime during the Second Empire (1852-1870) they were in a phial that was found among a collection of old medicines. When they were found this phial and the parchments that was attached to it were dated to the Seventeenth Century. The parchment had a barely readable inscription that said 'remains found beneath the scaffold site of Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans'. When the contents of the phial were examined in the 1860s, it was found to contain three bone fragments, two of which turned out to be animal and the other human. It also contained a fragment of Fifteenth Century linen cloth and two pieces of wood that came from a torch. Later the animal bones were discarded.

This charred human bone fragment can not definitely be identified as belonging to Joan of Arc because other people were burned to death at the old market square of Rouen. This is unfortunate because it could have been kept in a reliquary within the cathedral of Orleans where it would be honoured with reverence instead of kept in a glass phial in a museum. As it is, the Church is quite content to leave the fragment in the custody of the museum because since the Church does not know for sure if the fragment belongs to Joan, then the Church does not want it treated as a 'relic'.

On the parchment of one of the nine surviving letters known to have been dictated by Joan, she had placed one strand of her own hair in the wax seal. This letter went to the citizens of Riom. Deplorably the hair has disappeared sometime during the second half of the nineteenth century. Perhaps it is now in some private collection but what ever happened to it, it is lost to the general public.

Items that were owned and used by a saint are considered 'second class' relics. During the French revolution, a time when atheistic anti-clerical forces ruled the country, several truly authentic relics of Joan were destroyed. Among them was the grey hat that Joan had given to Charlotte Boucher. This hat had been kept by her descendants for some two hundred years until the early 1600s when it was given to the Oratorian Order of Priests. It remained in the Order's Mother house in Orleans until the revolutionaries took the hat and threw it on to a bonfire in 1792.

The descendants of Joan's brother Pierre had in their possession three of her letters and a sword that she had worn. The letters were saved but Joan's sword was lost during the chaos of the revolutionary period. Finally during the height of the French revolution Joan's standard was burnt. The member of staff explained to me that it was not quite the original standard that was burnt. She explained that during the three hundred or more years that the town held the standard, the cloth was continually being repaired and pieces of it were replaced due to the damage done by moths.

The ring that was given to Joan by her mother and father was taken from her at the time of her capture. It was handed over to Bishop Cauchon who in turn gave it to Cardinal Beaufort, the Bishop of Winchester. The Beaufort family claimed that they handed this very ring down within their family for generations. The ring in question is described as having the initials HIS and MAR with only one cross. However its authenticity is highly doubted because it does not match Joan's description of her ring which she gave during her trial " It had three crosses on it with the names of Jesus and Mary ". The ring is now in the hands of a private collector.

After World War II a helmet that might have belonged to Joan was obtained by the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. The helmet hung over the high altar of the church of saint Pierre du Matroi in the city of Orleans and it is believed that it was votive offering given by Joan for the healing of the wound that she received at the Tourelles. The museum now displays this helmet as part of its armour collection. Again there is now way of definitely proving that the helmet was actually worn by Joan.

The member of staff told me that the historians have no idea what in fact happened to the sword of Saint Catherine. The Museum of Dijon have a sword which may have belonged to Joan but its authenticity is questionable. The blade seems to have been made in the 1490s but the hilt is small enough to fit a woman's hand. Therefore the hilt may be authentic but the blade definitely was not.

A 'third class' relic is something touched by the saint. There are many such relics scattered throughout France. Included in this group are the nine letters that Joan dictated. They were addressed to the English at Orleans, the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Armagnac, the Hussites, to the citizens of Riom and Troye and three to the citizens of Reims. Three of these letters bear her signature. Her first signature is found on the letter to the citizens of Riom. The other two letters that bear her signatures are on the letters addressed to the citizens of Reims.

The Church of Saint Remy in Domremy had three such relics, the holy water fountain, and the Baptismal fountain as well as the statue of Saint Margaret. In the Basilica of Saint Joan at the Bois Chenu, there is the Statue of Our Lady of Bermont' before which Joan prayed every Saturday.

At Vacouleurs, in the crypt church of Baudricourt's Castle, there is a statue called 'Our Lady of the Vaults'. Joan often prayed before this statue while she waited for Sir Robert to give her permission to leave for Chinon. In the town's museum there is an ancient crucifix called 'the Christ of Septfords' which came from the Church of Saints Nicholas-de-Septfords. Joan prayed before this crucifix. Here also near the gate of France stands an ancient enormous lime tree, to which tradition says that Joan tied her horse while making last minute preparations for her departure.

In the shrine chapel of Saint Catherine-de-Fierbois, there is the statue of Saint Catherine, in front of which Joan prayed. In the town of Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier's church there is an ancient stone statue of Saint Michael before which Joan knelt and prayed. In the town of Lagny, where the child was restored to life, there is a statue of the Blessed Mother called 'Our Lady of Good Help'. It was before this image that the dead child was laid and Joan and the town's girls prayed. In Compiègne's Church of Saint Jacques, just prior to her capture, Joan heard mass and received Holy Communion after which she knelt and prayed before a stone statue of the Madonna and child. The United States is fortunate to have a bona fide third class relic of Saint Joan, the stepping stone used by Joan to venerate a statue of the Virgin Mary. It is now located as the Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The stepping stone was placed in the chapel that was brought over from France and rebuilt on the campus. It is also said that Saint Joan prayed in this chapel.

Now let us consider the case of Saint Joan's 'armour'. This is truly a treasure hunt worthy of Indiana Jones! There are two possible locations for her armour. They are Luxembourg or Burgundy, France.

Some historians believe Joan left her white armour in the Abbey Church of Saint Denis after her failed attempt to take Paris. Once King Charles and his entourage left the town of Saint Denis, it was retaken by the English. The English entered the church and stole Joan's armour and took it back with them to England. Regine Pernoud disagrees with this theory. She believes Joan did not leave her armour but gave instead as a votive offering the armour of a capture Burgundian knight. The armour is now in the Musee de L 'Armee at the Invalides, Paris.

It is more likely that Joan retained her white armour and was wearing it at the time of her capture and it has been passed down in some family of Burgundy or Luxembourg. Perhaps if that family did know what they had, they would not say anything about it because the French government would insist that they gave this national treasure back to them. There is another strong possibility that her armour still remains unknown and undiscovered in some storeroom of a castle in Luxembourg or Burgundy. If that is true, then her

armour can be distinguished by the following characteristics: there would be a dent in the helmet that occurred when Joan was hit on the head by the stone at Jargeau. There would be a patch in the breastplate from an arrow that pierced her at Orleans. Also the breastplate would have a rounded feminine contour. Finally one of the thigh plates would be severely damaged, maybe even cracked, by the impact of the crossbow bolt that hit her when she was fighting before Paris.

Recently an antique dealer in Paris by the name of Pierre de Souzy stated that he had Saint Joan's armour. He stated that he obtained it from a family that held it in their possession for many hundred years. He gave several reasons why he felt that it was genuine i.e. it was made for a person that was five feet tall. Joan was around five feet tall. That is a fifteenth century picture depicting Joan in this type of armour. There are 'chinks and dents in the armour that correspond to her war wounds. Finally a metallurgist dated that armour to the fifteenth century'

This man does not know what he is talking about ! I will explain why in fact that this suit of armour could not belong to Joan. I saw a picture of this antique dealer standing next to Joan's alleged armour in a local newspaper, the 'Albuquerque Journal' and will use this picture to dispute his statements.

My first impression of the armour was that it was made for a child because it was so small. The armour in the picture may be five feet tall but look at the shoulder width, the circumference and length of the arms and legs. They are very small. It is true that Joan was somewhere between five feet to five feet four inches tall but it is also true that she was known to be quite stocky and muscular in her body build. Joan wore white armour, the armour shown is gothic. The term white armour refers to the fact that it was plain armour without any decoration whatsoever. Look how ornately this armour was made with decorative rivets, fluting and a rope design along the edges. Look at the helmet which covers the face. Joan did not use a visor on her helmet as she wanted everyone to be able to see her face. Her helmet was more like our modern day army helmet than the one shown in this picture. The fact that Joan was depicted in this type of gothic armour does not mean anything because some twenty years later her death, when the artist drew the picture, gothic armour was in fashion. Joan has been depicted in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries as wearing the dress of each period. Does that mean she actually wore all these fashions ? Of course not. Each artist tended to portray Joan as wearing the fashion of his day.

I then computer enhanced the newspaper's picture and obtained even more information that backs my claim that this is NOT Joan's armour. Under computer enhancement it is seen that from the mid-line to the sides of the breast plate that the armour falls back sharply which would give little or no room for her breasts.

One final repudiation. Mr. Souzy states that his armour has "chinks and dents corresponding to her war wounds". Let us look at this more closely. The word 'chink' means a 'crack or fissure, narrow opening. Joan's armour would have more than some dents and narrow cracks in armour plate because she was injured by powerful armour piercing projectiles. These projectiles would have punched through the armour plate causing a large inward flaring hole. To repair the holes in the breast and thigh plate the armour would have to be pounded out and patched the damage. In my enhanced version of the newspaper's picture I see no discernible dents nor any evidence that either the breast plate or the thigh plates were ever repaired.

Editors Note Any reader interested in reading more of Virginia's work or interested in Joan of Arc can write to the Saint Joan of Arc Centre, P.O.Box 13226, Albuquerque, New Mexico, NM87192, USA or E mail Virginia at stjoan@stjoan-center.com please remember those International Reply Coupons if using 'snail mail'. Virginia is also working on an anthology of quotes with regard to Joan of Arc, asking people to write a short statement between one to five sentences long concerning what they think or feel about Joan of Arc. The quotes will be placed alongside those of esteemed historical persons such as George Bernard Shaw, Winston Churchill, Ingrid Bergman, Andre Malraus, Richard Einhorn, and Jawahar Lal Nehru.

The Cluny Monastery and the Foundation of Medieval Monasticism

Troy Southgate

Editors Introduction :

The Benedictine monastery of Cluny was founded by the Count William of Auvergne, built amongst the hills of Burgundy near the town of Macon in 909. Cluny became the centre of a monastic revival, promoting the standard set by the Benedictine rule of Work, Study and Prayer combined with a degree of community autonomy. The strength of personality of the abbots and an ability to expand its influence throughout the realm of early Medieval monasticism enabled Cluny to become an embodiment of the monastic ideal. The monastery of Cluny lasted until the French Revolution.

In order to address the question of monastic revival with regard to Cluny, it is first necessary to examine how Cluny itself was established. Secondly I will look at the contribution made by Cluny's four most prominent rulers, Odo (926-944), Mayeul (965-994), Odiolo (944-1048) and Hugh (1049-1109). Thirdly, the actual influence of Clunaic reforms will be examined in relation to two specific European monastic communities and finally I will conclude by accounting for the actual spread of Clunaic influence itself.

In 909 Duke William of Aquitaine laid the foundations for a new monastic establishment on his Burgundian hunting grounds, permitting Abbot Berno and his fellow monks to practise the Benedictine rule and retain their administrative independence by controlling the interior affairs of the community. This was a very rare privilege during the early part of the Tenth Century because many aristocratic benefactors frequently tried to interfere with the decision making processes within monasteries, often reserving the right to choose a new abbot or abbess in the event of a death. In short despite its lack of buildings and prevailing air of poverty Cluny's qualitative combination of administrative and religious fortitude meant that Berno was able to pass on an effective monastic machine to the four Clunaic reformers who were poised to succeed him. In 926 Odo took over the running of the monastery and was seen by many as " a living embodiment of the Benedictine ideal ." (1) Odo had gained his experience at Baume and his very actions seemed to encapsulate the monastic piety which had arisen from a strict avoidance of worldly distraction. It was Odo's personal example which contributed to the growing influence of the Clunaic ideal, and between 927 and 942 he was invited to extend his capable reformist abilities to other monasteries; among them Romanmotier in Burgundy, Aurillac in Aquitaine (which was transformed with the assistance of Count Gerald, whom Odo " presented to lay aristocrats of his day as a model of piety") (2) Jumieges in Normandy and Fleury-sur-Loire (which was particularly significant in that it housed the body of St. Benedict , Cluny's spiritual mentor). Odo even travelled to Rome in order to assist Senator Alberic with monastic reform in Northern Italy, although Alberic himself had formerly been known as "an unscrupulous oppressor of the monks " (3) by way of his greedy expropriation of monastic land and property. The fact that Odo was willing to forgive him and accept the Roman ruler's sudden change of policy seems illustrative of the Saint's own humility. On the other hand, Odo was never a man to pass up an opportunity of propagating the Christian faith- and particularly the example of the Clunaic ideal in any way he could. Some historians have attacked Alberic's new found allegiance to the rule of St. Benedict, claiming he has more interested in weakening the power of his own aristocracy than in the formulation of a monastic revival. In his case, secular self-interest appeared to inadvertently contribute to Odo's more spiritual expansionist designs.

In 931, Cluny had secured the protection and guardianship of the Holy See in return for a tribute of ten solidi every five years. Cluny was also able to undertake the direction of other monasteries and by becoming the first abbey to be "exempted from Episcopal oversight" (4) and thus remaining immune from any direct dependence upon the diocesan bishop, was granted permission by Pope John XI to take in dissatisfied fugitives from other abbeys. In addition Cluny became a refuge for the poor, the needy, weary strangers and travelling pilgrims who "bringing nothing with them but their goodwill, might find in its superfluity their abundance." (5) Needless to say, these important material factors played a large part in Cluny's subsequent emergence as the dominating spider at the centre of a growing monastic web, although it was the spiritual nature of the community's adherence to the Benedictine rule which was to inspire others with its strict observance of chastity, obedience and a committed devotion to both study and prayer, qualities which had their roots in Benedict of Aniane's own observances almost a century earlier. However, it is worth noting that Cluny departed from the Benedictine rule in two very crucial areas. Firstly by increasing the time monks were occupied in the choir Benedict's original division of the day between prayer, manual labour and reading was significantly altered. Secondly whilst the Benedictine rule asserts that an abbot should "be the representative of Christ in the monastery" (6), it soon became apparent that those included within the sphere of the Clunian empire were considered as monks of Cluny rather than as independent monastic entities in themselves. As Laurance Golder explains "It was in fact a vast feudal organisation, more like an army to command it than a group of families, each with its own father." (7)

With the advent of Mayeul in 965, the expansionist tradition was continued. Mayeul had been a keen student of Classical philosophy and the liberal arts, but his own sincerity and commitment to the Clunian phenomenon caused him to discard such worldly pleasure. Indeed, Mayeul made many sacrifices during his lifetime, most notably his refusal to accept the vacant papacy at the behest of Empress Adelaide and Emperor Otto II. As far as the humble Mayeul was concerned, the furtherance of the Clunian spirit and the fatherly care of his monks were of far greater importance, and during his abbacy the wave of reform spread through Lerins and Valence and on through the Italian monasteries of Santa Maria e Salvatore in Pavia and St. Appollinare in Ravenna. At a time when secular rulers were embroiled within their own private battle with rich landowners, Mayeul's humility and radiance of faith seemed to embody strict Clunian principles and without any doubt certainly contributed to their influence throughout European Christendom.

By the end of the tenth Century, Clunian influence was once again accentuated when Odilo became abbot in 994. Indeed, Cluny appeared to have no shortage of charismatic father-figures who had the ability and drive to inspire by their own personal affiliation to the increasingly popular Benedictine rule. Whilst Odo and Mayeul managed to shift Clunian influence on to a decidedly internationalist footing, Odilo was the man who was able to more fully consolidate the mighty Clunian empire itself. Apart from those monasteries which chose to reform themselves in accordance with the Burgundian model, there were also a growing number of monasteries which had been donated to Cluny by their aristocratic benefactors. Such a process meant that such establishments became wholly dependant upon Cluny to the extent that they gave her their unquestionable loyalty and obedience. By continuing to maintain good relations with the Papacy, Odilo managed to preserve Clunian independence from Episcopal interference and, in 988 Pope Gregory V even agreed that no bishop should celebrate mass at Cluny without the abbot's approval. In the Eleventh Century the exemption process went even further when Pope John XIX decree of 1027 announced that Cluny must be autonomous and remain outside the Bishop of Macon's jurisdiction. It was also impossible for the local bishop to excommunicate any of the monks, and Cluny was consequently under the control of the Holy See. There was no doubt that Cluny and the Papacy were acting in strict accordance with one another, and that a strong link had been established between the Pope and his most worthy Catholic supporters. When Clement was

made pope, Odilo was present throughout the whole process, participating in and assisting at the ceremonial proceedings. Without doubt, the " Clunaics seem to have regarded the Pope as a friend and far from an imperial catspaw ." (8)

After significantly increasing the numbers within Cluny's resident community, Odilo set about enlarging and improving its monastic buildings. The spirit of restoration also had an influence elsewhere and land was both reclaimed and redeveloped under the guidance of the Clunaic abbot. Odilo also began to travel extensively and he was not merely seeking to export the spiritual practices of Cluny as Odo and Mayeul had done before him, but openly attempting to extend the monastic empire by creating a series of strong Clunaic outposts, complete with large amounts of land and property. Odilo was acting like the regional organiser of a dynamic political organisation; recruiting by example, establishing new branches and more importantly, winning the allegiance of those who pledged their allegiance to the Clunaic prototype.

On 22nd February 1049-at the tender age of twenty four- Hugh became the sixth abbot of Cluny and embarked upon a reign lasting over sixty years, which was to finally consolidate the Clunaic empire. The same years signified an important turning point in the nature of the Papacy and Pope Leo IX pontificate became a nightmare for " the growing party of high-minded churchmen who were pressing for the reform of abuses and an end to the secularisation of ecclesiastical office. " (9) In fact Leo IX was so concerned about those prelates who obtained their position by monetary means, that he sought to resolve the situation once and for all by calling meetings at Mainz and Riems. These were followed soon after by a long overdue bout of excommunications and suspensions. Historians attribute these ecclesiastical purges to the growing influence of Cluny which, by creating a climate in which both itself and the Papacy were inextricably linked, had always been destined to become embroiled in the conflict between the Pope and the corrupt secular leaders. The Clunaics were beginning to have an influence upon the highest levels of the Church and its supporters were able to play a prominent role in the investiture struggle between Gregory VII and Henry IV, with their own freedom from episcopal interference making them " natural allies of the Papacy in its struggle to assert its spiritual authority over Christendom " (10). However with Hugh at the helm the Clunaic tradition-which was "not the outcome of any clearly formulated design " (11)- had already achieved a great deal; despite the coincidental commitment to reform which now emanated from the Church.

C.H. Lawrence has described Cluny as " the spiritual Everest in a landscape containing many peaks (12) , and one nation which managed to develop a revival of the Benedictine rule along similar lines was Germany. In the Eighth Century, Chrodegang had founded the abbey of Gorze, near Metz, which subsequently deteriorated until monastic life no longer existed there. However in 993, John of Gorze and Archbishop Einold of Toul decided to renovate the monastery and establish the Benedictine observance, soon allowing Gorze to become the spearhead of a Tenth Century monastic revival which spread throughout Germany. The German ideal, however was different to that of the Clunaic and Gorze lectionary (*editors note ; a collection of scripture lessons relating to particular days in the Church ritual year*) and some of its liturgical practices were known outside Germany. In an organisational sense too Gorze had little in common with Cluny and did not manage to develop an empire in any sense of the word. Whilst the Clunaic pyramid had a commanding abbot, Gorze was only the first in a series of "co-equal" (13) monastic establishments linked through common prayer and friendship. No one monastery was able to exert any judicial control over another. Despite Wolfgang's attempts to evangelise Hungary in 971, the Gorze revival was fairly much contained within Germany and never created or indeed was able to export anything like the kind of influence which had been generated by Cluny.

By total contrast England represented a living testimony to the steady growth of Clunaic appeal. Prior to the Viking invasion, the English monasteries had for years been centres of artistry, scholarship and intellectual excellence. However King Alfred of Wessex reported that towards the end of the Ninth Century learning had been in great decline with very few people able to "understand their divine service in Latin or even translate a single letter from Latin in to English" (14). But by 940, King Edmund- also King of Wessex- had made Dunstan abbot of Glastonbury and the scene was set for a new monastic revival.

There is no doubt that Dunstan's appointment marked "a turning point in the history of religion in England," (15) and he spent the next fifteen years constructing a springboard from which a renewed and vigorous monastic renaissance could be launched. Dunstan set about repairing Glastonbury's monastic buildings and encouraged the new community to follow the Rule of St. Benedict. Eventually Dunstan was exiled to Ghent in 956 before being recalled by King Edgar, who made him Bishop of Worcester and London before appointing him Archbishop of Canterbury in 959, where Dunstan became associated with the revival of liturgical detail and the visual arts (which were also greatly inspired by French Clunaics). However whilst the influence of Cluny inspired Dunstan during this time at Glastonbury and caused him to reform the community along Continental lines, it was at Canterbury that he attached himself more closely to the Clunaic model. The Bosworth Psalter, which is contemporary with Dunstan, contains all the main texts for the recitation of the Benedictine observance.

Another figure who is considered to be one of most prominent English reformers is Ethelwold. The Glastonbury community had left Ethelwold unmoved and he considered travelling abroad in order to seek a more purer strain of monastic reform. Instead, however, he accepted an offer from King Eadred asking him to restore a monastery at Abingdon. In 959 when King Edgar had ascended to the throne, the reformers received his full backing and Glastonbury, Abingdon and Oswald's Westbury-on-Trym (see below) soon became the central pillars of the revival. This monarchic support was very similar to that which contributed to the Clunaic reforms on the European mainland, and King Edgar, just like Senator Alberic before him, weakened the power of both aristocracy and the secular canons by ordering all expropriated land to be donated to monastic communities (Edgar's action later resulted in the 'anti-monastical' reaction, which despite its name, was a purely political backlash instigated by resentful earls sensing a decline in their economic interests).

During his time at Winchester, Ethelwold gave the resident community an ultimatum. If the old clergy were not prepared to accept the reforms, they were expelled and replaced with those who would. Eventually Winchester developed into an English version of Cluny and incorporated Ely and Peterborough within its new ecclesiastical empire. To Ethelwold, Winchester represented the very heart of a thriving network of monasteries and the support that he received from the young King Edgar-whose "inborn zeal of temperament" (16) he had carefully nurtured-allowed him to act in an incredibly confident and high handed manner. Edgar must also have been flattered by the Winchester Psalter, a text of gospel-like appearance which carried an illustration of the King himself seated between Dunstan and Ethelwold.

By 970 all English monasteries were Benedictine and followed the new *Regularis Concordia*, a code of observance drawn up by Ethelwold with the intention of brining all monasteries in to a uniform rule of conduct. From the Preface of the *Regularis Concordia* (*Editor's Note; this was a code of monastic observance approved by the synod of Winchester in c. 970*) it is possible to detect the influence of the Clunaic, as Fleury willingly provided monks to assist in the preparation of the document. Another example of such collaboration can be found in the *Concordia's* instructions, which include the same additions to the divine office first devised at Cluny.

Furthermore, Ethelwold's attempts to construct an empire similar to that of his Clunaic contemporaries is illustrated by the fact that "immunities were obtained which gave private jurisdiction to the monks over a considerable territory". (17) There is further evidence to suggest that the German reformers at Groze had also had a continuity of personnel during this period suggests that his reforms were comparatively more gradual. The Ramsey Psalter is a surviving example of Oswald's symbolic reforms.

By way of conclusion, the spread of Clunaic influence must be attributed to a diverse yet distinctively beneficial set of circumstances. Firstly, in terms of the more spiritual perspective Noreen Hunt contends that Cluny offered " a clear concept of the monastic life and how to interpret it in terms of practical living, a fidelity to the way herself and a confidence in it value as a way of life for others. Her customs were clear and easily adaptable. (18) Secondly, whilst Clunaic monasteries were incorporated within a centralised framework they were able to retain a degree of large independence from episcopal interference, thus managing to accelerate the drive towards all out reform. Thirdly, Clunaic expansionism seemed perfectly suited to the aims of certain European monarchs with a desire to strengthen their own domestic power and stave off the challenge of the rich landowners and an upwardly mobile nobility (depending on local conditions). By seeking to expand their growing empire, therefore, the Clunaic reforms inadvertently aroused a fierce debate over land rights. This factor significantly contributed to their own influence as the likes of Senator Alberic of Rome and King Edgar of England backed them to the hilt in order to fulfil semi-political objectives, placing both funds and resources under Clunaic control.

Despite the various circumstances which account for the influence of Clunaic and related reforms in Tenth and Eleventh century Europe, perhaps Herbert B. Workman can provide the most simple and indeed, most fitting description of this remarkable age from the perspective of the reformers themselves who in his opinion " had on their side the moral consciousness of Europe awaking from the long night of barbarism to a new life and larger hopes. ".(19)

Footnotes

- (1) C.H. Lawrence; MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM (Longman, 1993) p.88
- (2) Mary Skinner, 'Aristocratic Families' in BENEDICTUS Ed. E. Rozanne Elder (Cistercian Publications, 1981) p.84
- (3) L.M. Smith; THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY OF CLUNY (Oxford University Press, 1920) p.22
- (4) Laurence Goulder; CHURCH LIFE IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND (Guild of Our Lady of Ransom, 1967) p.22
- (5) L.M.Smith, as above p.13
- (6) Justin McCann (Trans.); THE RULE OF SAINT BENEDICT (Sheen and Ward, 1976) p.6
- (7) Laurence Goulder, as above p. 22
- (8) L.M. Smith as above p.152
- (9) C.H.Lawrence as above p.92
- (10) as above p.94
- (11) as above p.96
- (12) as above p.102
- (13) as above p.104
- (14) Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (ed.); 'Prose Preface to Gregory's Pastoral Care in ALFRED THE GREAT (Penguin 1985) p.125
- (15) Tim Tatton-Brown 'The Images of St. Dunstan ' in HISTORY TODAY, April 1988, Vol.38 p.36
- (16) Dom. David Knowles; THE MONASTIC ORDER IN ENGLAND (Cambridge University Press, 1963) p.40
- (17) As above p. 53
- (18) Noreen Hunt; CLUNY UNDER ST.HUGH: 1049-1109 (Notre Dame Press, 1967), p.139
- (19) Herbert B. Workman; THE EVOLUTION OF THE MONASTIC IDEAL(The Epworth Press, 1927) p.235



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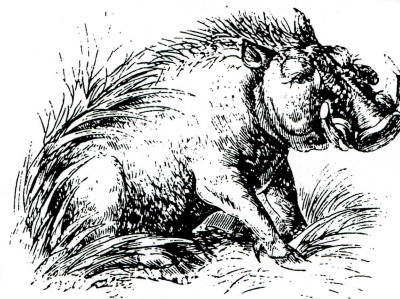
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